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III.—VERBALS IN -τος IN SOPHOCLES.

II.

ON THE NEUTER FORCE OF THE VERBAL.

That the neuter force of the verb very often lies close to the passive is an established fact (cf. e. g. Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, IV, p. 79). This is most clearly seen in cases in which the two forces of the verb exchange constructions; e. g. *πάσχειν τι ὑπό τινος*; vapulare ab aliquo. But it is especially in the participles of the Indo-European languages that these two forces approach one another. It is well known that the Sanskrit 'perfect passive participles' in *-ta* and *-na* are very frequently not passive at all, but neuter (cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, §952 *a*). So in Latin: the participles in *-tus* are regularly neuter, when derived from deponent verbs, and not infrequently so when derived from other verbs; e. g. *concretus*, *cenatus*. In Greek this neuter force is seen, not alone in verbals derived from deponent verbs, but also in those derived from *middle* (or *passive-middle*) verbs: thus it comes that certain verbals in -τος correspond to the *present middle participle* of their verb. The neuter verbals in Greek have been very much neglected by philologists: our chief authority on them is Frederick Mehlhorn, in an excursus on pp. 239-43 of his edition of the 'Anacreontea' (Glogaviae, 1825). One chief cause of the ignorance and confusion which have prevailed concerning these verbals lies in the fact that—apart from the prejudice against adjectives in -τος being considered as being anything other than passive—the *active*, *neuter* and *passive* forces of the adjectives have not been accurately distinguished. On the other extreme we must avoid considering an adjective like *δυνατός* passive in e. g. the sentence *δυνατός ἐστι πάσχειν τι*, but active in *δυνατός ἐστι ποιεῖν τι*. Surely the *neuterness* of the verbal is not made passive by the passiveness of the dependent infinitive (cf. Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache*, III, p. 694).

After discussing the simplicia, in which discussion Mehlhorn brings us nothing of material value, the composita are taken up (pp. 241-42) and discussed according as they are compounded

"cum *nomine*, aut cum *adverbio*, aut cum *praepositione*." "Cum nominibus denique," he observes, "haec adiectiva ita componuntur, ut nomen praepositum aut subiectum, aut obiectum sit. Prius si est, significatio fit passiva, posterius activa." In both of Sophocles' compounds with nouns, χρυσόρρντος and ἀλίπλαγκτος, the noun stands in the relation of a casus obliquus to the rest of the adjective. Of the compounds with adverbs by far the majority—some 20 out of 30—are compounds with a priv. "Longe plurima autem," he observes, "praebent cum adverbio aut cum nomine composita. Quid autem valeat compositio ad activam vim efficiendam, apparet maxime si adiect. verbb. cum a priv. composita percenseas, quorum simplicia *nunquam* active usurpantur. Sic nusquam βρωτός et γευστός eum denotat qui gustavit, sed ἄγευστον et ἄβρωτον, ita ut ἄπαστον usurpari notissimum est," etc. The composita with prepositions show much less frequently the neuter force; in fact Mehlhorn cites only four cases: we have thus explained περίφαντος, ἀπώμοτος, ἐπώμοτος, περιβόητος, ἀναμπλάκητος, διώμοτος, ἐπίφαντος, and probably ξυνετοί. Mehlhorn's summa summarum is expressed thus: "His igitur demonstratum esse arbitror primò hoc: verbalia in τος exeuntia quae a deponentibus derivantur, posse activam vim accipere, quae a mediis mediam, quae a neutralibus neutralem, sive composita sive simplicia illa: deinde vero quaecunque verbalia a meris activis deriventur, nonnisi composita active usurpari." Cf. Kvičala, Beiträge. I, p. 32: "Kein einziges Verbaladjektiv auf τος hat active Bedeutung, wenn das demselben zu Grunde liegende Verbum entschieden transitive Geltung und nur diese hat: Verbaladjektiva auf τός (*sic*) ohne passive Geltung sind nur bei solchen Verben möglich, die intransitive Geltung haben oder die, wenn sie auch häufig bereits als echte Transitiva behandelt werden, doch auch daneben einen an und für sich abgeschlossenen Sinn haben können, so dass sie der Hinzufügung eines Objects nicht bedürfen." Of Sophocles' simplicia all are derived from deponent verbs, except the doubtful σπανιστός. Moissisitzig thus introduces a chapter on this subject (I, p. 68): "Significatio participii praesentis activi, quae non solum in simplicibus et parasynthetis, sed etiam in synthetis inest, nisi tam saepe legeretur, formis latinis Participii Perf. Pass. speciem exhibentibus, vim autem eiusdem modi activi sortientibus, sicuti: pransus, osus, pertaesus et similibus, quae Zumpt §663 [should this not be §633, of the 8th edition?] affert, comparari posset. Horum similia autem pauca modo inveniuntur

exempla . . . Utrum numerus adiectivorum in τος terminatorum, quibus Part. Praes. Act. subiectus est intellectus, intra firmos ac stabiles coercitus sit terminos, sicuti formarum latinarum, quas modo commemoravimus, an certis potestas adnexa sit verborum generibus, an denique ea uti ex lubricitate pependerit hodie non iam constitui posse videtur. Discrimina enim in exemplis, quae sunt in promptu, inveniri nequeunt quare, si iudicium ferendum est, in sententiam ultimo loco positam pedibus est eundum. Magnopere quidem rationibus quibusdam investigandis sum discruciat, sed frustra, nam omnes, quae animum subibant, opiniones, usus pertinacia infringebantur." We think the distinction of *time* in these neuter verbals should be insisted on more rigidly than has generally been done. So far has the tense-force of the participle as such been weakened in the adjective as such that it has quite escaped the notice of not a few writers. Mehlhorn makes no mention of the time-force at all. With the exception of some eight verbals, to which he ascribes the signification of the pf. act. part., Moisisstzig (I, p. 73) ascribes timelessness to nearly all neuter verbals. So far is this from being correct that these verbalia can refer to *past* time (cf. Kopetsch, p. 27; "Iam eo deductus est sermo, ut etiam *participii perfecti activi* significationem nomina in τος formata nonnunquam sibi vindicasse dicamus. Verum hic usus apud Platonem paucitate exemplorum continetur . . . Neque ab Homero hunc usum seiunctum fuisse, his exemplis comprobatur . . ."), as well as to *present* (cf. Kopetsch, pp. 24-26) and *future* act, just as the passive adjectives do.

The great majority of such adjectives refers to an act contemporaneous with that of the verb of the context on which they depend. The futures are, as usual, to be explained either modally (e. g. βροτός, ἄβροτος, etc.) or by prolepsis. Sophocles seems to have used these neuter verbals, referring to contemporaneous act, some forty-odd times, as against nineteen other cases. Distinguishing between *specific* and *general* contemporaneousness, we see that in about half of the cases in Sophocles this contemporaneousness has grown to be general, indefinite, timeless; here the participial nature has quite died out, and the action or *condition* expressed by the verbal is considered a *characteristic* of the subject. Not a few of these verbs express a *condition* rather than an act. Now, where there is action there is motion, and hence limits are generally involved, hence time also. Where, however, there is no action, but a mere *condition* or *state*, the limits are

indefinitely extended, and hence there is, in effect, no time in the verbal. This timelessness is most clearly seen in those cases in which the verbal has been crystallized to a noun, as e. g. in *ἀνόητος*.

We find it generally stated that neuter verbals are 'often' or 'generally' associated with a negative, and Mehlhorn says (p. 239) that Ruhnken hesitated to explain *ὑβριστός* as a neuter in Xen. Mem. II 6, 21, "quia grammaticorum in compositis cum *a* priv. tantum id fieri docentium auctoritatem verebatur"! Of Sophocles' sixty-odd neuter verbals, not quite the half are compounds of *a* priv.; nor do the others show that tendency—which was observed in the modal passives—to associate themselves with negatives. Schambach's statement (I, p. 26) that the number of adjectives "praeter vulgarem usum active a Sophocle usurpatorum permagnus sit" is certainly not to be emphasized too strongly for the forms in *τος*; Sophocles shows fewer examples of this use than e. g. Aischylos does.

The examples now to be cited have been divided into two general classes—I, those in which the adjective is joined to the name of a *thing*; II, those with *persons*. Each class is further subdivided according as the verbal is derived from a A) *neuter* or B) *middle-passive* verb. The last subdivision is that of *time*, according as the act of the verbal is a) *prior*, β) *contemporaneous* (1. special, 2. general), or γ) *subsequent* (by 1. modality or 2. prolepsis).

I. Associated with *things*. A. Derived from *neuter* verbs.

α) *Prior act.*—Trach. 743 *ἀγέννητον ποεῖν* (τὸ φανθὲν). Schol. τὸ ἀπαξ πραχθὲν . . . πῶς ἂν τις μὴ γενέσθαι ποιήσειεν;

β) *Contemporaneous act.* 1. *Real, definite act.*—Trach. 985 *ἀλλήλοισι ὀδύνας*. We derive the adjective (which stands for **ἄσληκτος*) from the more common neuter force of the verb. Ai. 197 *ἀτάρβητος* (*ὑβρις*). V. LL. *ἀτάρβητα*, *ἀταρβήτα*, *ἀταρβήτα*, *ἀτάρβητος*. Whether the verbal be specific or general in time depends on the time of *ὀρμῆται*, which *may* be a universal present. Ai. 1006 *δυνατόν* (*μολεῖν*). El. 894 *νεορρύτους* *πηγὰς*. Suidas' *νεωστὶ ρέουσι* fits nicely here, as the milk was still freshly dripping. Ant. 1006 *παμφλέκτοισιν* (*βωμοῖσι*). We hesitatingly derive the verbal from the neuter sense of *φλέγω* (= *fulgere*), which Sophocles not infrequently uses, thus preferring Stephanus' *omni ex parte ardens* to his *omni ex parte incensus*.

2. *Timeless, good for all time.* 1) 'Geographically' present, and the like.—O. C. 469 ἀειρύτου . . . κρήνης. Ai. 884 ῥυτῶν . . . ποταμῶν. O. C. 1598 ῥυτῶν ὑδάτων.

2) Other examples.—O. C. 1662 ἀλάμπετον βάθρον. With the Scholiast (γρ. ἀλάμπετον) and many recent editors (e. g. Reisig, Musgrave, Brunck, Wunder), we depart from the tradition of the Laurentianus, ἀλύπητον. Ἀλάμπετος occurs in Hymn. Hom. XXXII 5. Fg. 856 ἄφθιτος βίος. Ai. 162 δυνατὸν . . . προδιδάσκειν. El. 1139 παμφλέκτου πυρός. Again it is difficult to decide if the verbal refer to definite or indefinite act. Fg. 856 πλωτῷ γένει. O. C. 4 σπανιστοῖς . . . δωρήμασιν. We derive the adjective from the middle, σπανίζομαι. Or is it merely a -τος formation from the noun σπάνις? O. C. 1081 ταχύρρωστος πελειὰς.

3. *Subsequent act*; these adjectives exhibit either prolepsis or modality.—O. R. 157 ἄμβροτε φάμα. O. R. 159 ἄμβροτ' Ἀθάνα. Ant. 1134 ἀμβρότων ἐπέων. Ant. 338 ἄφθιτον (Γάν). Fg. 258 ἀφθίτου (γέννας). Reading uncertain. El. 1420 παλίρρυτον . . . αἶμ'. παλίρρυτον, Bothe; πολλύρρυτον, L.; πολύρρυτον, r.

B. Derived from *middle* and *neuter-passive* verbs. a) *Prior act*.—Phil. 297 ἄφαντον φῶς. Schol. ἀπροσδόκητον, ἄλλως: καλῶς εἶπεν ἄφαντον' οὐ φαίνεται γὰρ ἀλλὰ δυνάμει αὐτὸ ἔχει. The verbal means 'which as yet had not appeared,' 'Versteckte Funken' (Hartung). Campbell's explanations are humorous. O. C. 1507 νέορτον (τί).

β) *Contemporaneous act*.—Ai. 758 κἀνόνητα σώματα. κἀνόητα, Suidas. The verbal is here a general present. Ai. 1186 ἄπανστων . . . ἄταν. The verbal seems to refer to those very evils which they were just then suffering. Ai. 599 περίφαντος (Σαλαμῖς). Phil. 716 στατὸν εἰς ὕδωρ. Certainly the passage is not to be rejected as spurious, because elsewhere in the play there is mention of *running* water on the isle!

γ) *Subsequent act* (modal).—O. C. 495 ὀδωτά (ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὀδ.). Schol. οὐκ ἐν ὀδῷ, οὐδὲ ἀνυστά οἶον οὐ βαδιστέα μοι οὐδὲ πρακτέον ταῦτα. Some critics take it to mean 'I cannot do these things,' referring to the preceding context, others 'I cannot go.' This latter explanation we adopt; cf. Hesychius' statement that ὀδόω in the middle = πορεύομαι.

II. Associated with *persons*. A. Derived from *neuter verbs*.

α) *Prior act*.—Ant. 394 ἀπώμοτος (ῶν). Schol. καίπερ ὁμωμοκῶς μὴ ἐλθεῖν. Phil. 593 διώμοτοι πλέουσιν. Trach. 427 ἐπώμοτος . . . ἔφασκες. Ant. 950 χρυσορύτους (γονὰς).

β) *Contemporaneous act.* 1. *Specific present.*—El. 912 ἀκλαύτῃ (ῆ). Trach. 968 ἀναύδατος (ᾧδε) φέρεται. ἀναύδατος, Erfurdt; ἀναυδοσ, L. El. 1065 ἀπόνητοι. Trach. 1074 ἀστένακτος . . . εἰπόμεν. Trach. 1200 ἀστένακτος καὶ δάκρυτος . . . ἔρξον. Ai. 321 ἀψόφητος . . . ὑπεστέναξε. O. R. 12 δυσάλητος . . . εἶην. Trach. 652 πάγκλαυτος . . . ᾠλλυτο. O. C. 1663 στενακτὸς (ἀνὴρ). With M. (I, p. 67), Hartung, Wecklein, Wolf-Bellermann and others, we oppose those who explain the verbal as a passive.

2. *Timeless; general present.*—Ai. 946 ἀναλγῆτων δισσῶν. Thus the perplexed Schol. ἀστυπαθῶν εἰ τοῦτο πράξειαν· ἡ τῶν μηδὸλως ἀλγούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ πολυαλγῆτων, τῶν εἰς πολλὰ ἄχῃ ἡμᾶς ἐμβεβληκότων. The alpha is privative. O. R. 472 ἀναπλάκητοι (κῆρες). ἀναπλάκητοι, L.; ἀναμπλάκητοι, codices recentiores; but cf. Gustav Meyer, Griech. Gram.², §295. Schol. αἱ εἰς μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἀλλὰ πάνταν κρατοῦσαι . . . ἢ οὕτως, ἄφυκτοι, ἀπλάνητοι, ἀπροσπέλαστοι, ἀφανείς, ἃς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποφυγεῖν. O. R. 336 κατέλεύτετος φανεί; Ritter, Ribbeck, Nauck and others resort to conjectures to get sense out of a passage rendered almost senseless by the verbal ἀτελεύτητος, which they consider passive; cf. Kvičala, Beiträge, III, p. 85. We retain the verbal, rendering it as a neuter—'who accomplishes nothing'; cf. Eustathius, p. 441, 28: αὐτὸ δὲ (= ἀτελεύτητον) παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ καὶ τὸν μὴ τελευτὴν ἐπάγοντα τοῖς ζητουμένοις δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ, ἀτεγκτος κατέλεύτετος φανεί. Ai. 365 ἄτρεστον (τὸν). O. R. 586 ἄτρεστον εὖδοντ' κ. τ. λ. O. C. 1283 ἀφωνήτοις (τοῖς). Cf. Schmidt, Synonymik der griechischen Sprache, I, p. 106. El. 219 δυνατοῖς (sc. τοῖς). Fg. 867 δυσάλητος φρένας. O. R. 498 ξυνετοῖ (of Jupiter and Apollo). El. 1077 πάνδυρτος ἀηδῶν. πάνδυρτος, Erfurdt and Porson; πανόδυρτος, L. O. R. 191 περιβόητος (of Ares). Punctuation and reading disputed; περιβόατον, Dindorf. Many commentators accept the first explanation of the Scholiast—περὶ ὃν ἕκαστος βοᾷ. We have hesitatingly followed the other—<ῆ> μετὰ βοῆς καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἐπιών; cf. Tessing, de compositis nominibus Aeschyleis et Pindaricis, p. 47. Jebb (ad loc.), in excluding from prose the neuter sense of the verbal, has overlooked Plato, Philebus, p. 45 E. Or is the adjective intentionally ambiguous?

γ) *Subsequent act.*—Trach. 120 ἀναμπλάκητον Ἄϊδα σφε. ἀναμπλάκητον, Schol. r.; ἀμπλάκητον, L. The verbal is used proleptically.

B. Derived from *middle verbs.* α) *Prior act.*—El. 165 ἀνύμφευτος αἰὲν οἰχνῶ. Trach. 894 νέορτος ἄδε νύμφα. The Scholiast's first explanation is wrong, because based on a false reading. Fg. 787 νέορτον (τὰν). νέορτον, Valck; νεοργόν, MSS.

β) *Contemporaneous act*.—Ai. 695 ἀλίπλαγκτε (Πάν). The Scholiast gives *five* (attempts at) explanations why Pan receives this epithet. “Tu, qui maria pervagari soles” is Lobeck’s happy translation. Trach. 1095 ἄμικτον . . . στρατόν. Suidas’ ὁ μὴ μιν γνύμενος is nearer the meaning of the verbal here than the Scholiast’s ὃ οὐκ ἦν συμμῖξαι καὶ συμβαλεῖν. The verbal is purely neuter. Ant. 841 ἐπίφαντον (με). Ai. 229 περίφαντος ἀνὴρ.

γ) *Subsequent act* (proleptic).—O. R. 560 ἄφαντος ἔρρει. O. R. 832 ἄφαντος (βαῖν).

ON THE INSTRUMENTAL USE OF THE VERBALIA.

We now approach a number of verbals which have been variously explained, some seeing in them personification, some traiectio epitheti and remarkable cases of enallage, while others pass over the difficulties in silence. The trouble in these cases seems to arise, not from the meaning of the verbal itself, but from the manner in which the different words of the sentence are construed. Grammarians observed the strangely free manner in which the poets not infrequently joined the words of a given sentence, but failed to distinguish carefully between *grammatical* and *logical* subject; and it is just by holding fast to this distinction that we hope to make our position clear.

The verbal is construed ‘instrumentally’ when it is joined, grammatically, with that word which designates the thing (or person) that serves as an instrument, in the wider sense of the word (translate ‘with,’ ‘by,’ ‘in,’ ‘as to,’ etc.), in the hands of the logical subject of the phrase; e. g. Aischylos, Cho. 253 βουθύτοις ἐν ἡμασιν. Surely the days here are by no means the logical subject of the verb in -θυτος: the days are merely the instruments—as much so as the sacrificial knife—by which the oxen are sacrificed. Similarly in Sophocles’ φόνον . . . δημόλευστον (Ant. 36), the φόνος is not that which kills—much less that which is killed—but it is that act through, by means of which the sufferer is killed by the people. It is plain that herein no new meaning inheres in the verbal itself: passive, neuter and modal verbals can be thus instrumentally construed: the great majority of the cases seems to be passive. On looking over the examples one is struck with the predominance of relatively present (especially general-present) verbals; in fact they all, with few exceptions, are thus used. In the matter of verbals derived from neuter verbs, the case in

question is not unnaturally an *accusative of the inner object*, e. g. ἀσάλπικτον ὦραν corresponds to the possible construction σαλπίζειν ὦραν, after analogy of Lucian's ἡμέραν ἐσάλπισεν (Luc. Oryp. 114): so ἀχόρευτα . . . ὀνειδή, after analogy of ἀγῶνας χορεύειν, etc.

It is to be observed that the instrumental use of the verbals in Sophocles—as in Aischylos—is confined (with one exception, the doubtful ἐπώμοτος) to *things*.

I. With Abstract Things.

a) The case of the resolved construction is an acc. of the inner object.—Fg. 86 τᾷβατα. The reading is uncertain. The adjective is here—as always?—potential; cf. An. Bekk., p. 323, 1 = 22, 26. Fg. 356 ἀσάλπικτον ὦραν. El. 1069 ἀχόρευτα . . . ὀνειδή. Schol. ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἂν τις χορεύσειε. The verbal may be modal. Trach. 1262 ἐπίχαρτον . . . ἔργον. "Agreeable" (Donaldson, New Cratylus², p. 473) = *as to which* one rejoices. El. 1457 χαρτὰ . . . τάδε. Whether in such cases the adjective be modal or generally present it is impossible to decide. Trach. 228 χαρτὸν . . . τι. Trach. 1188 ἐπώμοτον (Ζῆν'). Says Suidas, quoting this passage, τοῦτέστι τοῦ ἔρκου ἐγγυτήν. If it means 'having Zeus as the one *by whom* I swear,' this is the one case of an instrumentally used verbal being construed with the name of a *person*.

β) The resolved construction exhibits some other case.—Trach. 168 ἀλυπητῷ βίῳ. Verses 166–68 are rejected by Dobree as spurious. Trach. 520 ἀμφίπλεκτοι κλίμακες. To this annoying passage the Schol. observes: κλίμακες αἱ ἐπαναβάσεις παρὰ τὸ ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοὺς στρέφεσθαι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· ἔστι δὲ εἶδος παλαίσματος ἢ κλίμαξ. Hermann, attempting to explain it, writes thus: "Positum erat, nisi fallor, in eo, ut quis averteret adversarium, atque a tergo complexus, quasi per scalam, dorsum eius conscenderet": he compares Ovid, Metam. IX 51. If anything is certain, where there is so much uncertainty, it is that the verbal is used instrumentally. Trach. 126 ἀνάληγτα. El. 186 ἀνέλπιστος (βίωτος). Trach. 770 ἀντίσπαστος (ἀδαγμός). Schol. ἀντίσπαστος δὲ ἴσος σπασμῷ ἢ μετὰ σπασμοῦ. "Quo ossa veluti divulsa sint," Wunder. O. R. 890 ἀσέπτων (τῶν). But we can consider the verbal merely *passive*. Ai. 833 ἀσφαδάστω . . . πηδήματι. The verbal is proleptic. Ant. 864 αὐτογέννητ' (κοιμήματα). "Quae audaci epitheti traiectione," says Schindler, p. 44, "dicta sunt pro: κοιμήματα αὐτογεννήτῳ ἐμῷ πατρὶ δυσμόρου ματρὸς, concubitus miserae matris cum patre meo,

quem ipsa pepererat": similarly Slameczka, p. 6, Stephanus, Passow, Wolf-Bellermann. And yet it is barely possible that, in this, as occasionally in other cases of compounds with αὐτο-, the commentators have failed to see to whom this αὐτο- referred. In the passage before us Antigone herself is speaking, and the αὐτο- can be taken to refer to the heroine herself. Ant. 875 αὐτόγνωτος . . . ὀργά. We derive the adjective from γινώσκω, not from γνώμη. Schambach (I, p. 24) says of the verbal: "quod verbum a Sophocle fictum non, ut expectamus, significat: 'quod a se ipso cognoscitur, sponte intelligitur,' sed 'suam ipsius sentiam (sic!) secutus'": more cautious is Schindler's translation (p. 44): "arrogantia ab ipsa (Antigona) adscita, h. e. ultro suscepta, αὐθαίρετος, nisi activa praeferenda est interpretatio illa, quam in maiore editione Erfurditius dedit: <<αὐτόγνωτος est qui ex sua tantum animi sententia (γνώμη) unum quidque agit>>." As, however, the passive explanation sounds indisputably insipid and weak, we hesitatingly accept the other, interpreting it 'an ὀργά in, through which she was self-willed and showed herself to be so.' "Nach eigenem Willen oder Urtheil handelnd: eigenwillig" (Passow); "eigenwillig" (Hartung); "die selbst, d. h. frei, ohne äusseren Zwang sich entschliesst (γινώσκω sehr oft sich entschliessen)" (Wolff-Bellermann). Ant. 36 δημόλευστον (φόνον). "In all such passages," says Blaydes, "the verbal is still passive, being only transferred from the person to the act." But not all instrumentally-used verbalia are passive. Ant. 1211 δυσθρήνητον (ἔπος). O. C. 1614 δυσπόνητον . . . τροφήν. O. C. 1220 ἰσοτέλεστος . . . μοῖρ'. The reading of several words of the passage is disputed; cf. Schütz, pp. 176-77. Schindler has rightly insisted (p. 35) that the adjective be joined either with μοῖρα or with θάνατος, of verse 1223. The Scholiast is all in confusion, e. g. τὸ ἐξῆς δὲ ἰσοτέλεστος θάνατος . . . τοῦτον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξῆς, οἷον οὐδὲ ἔπεστιν αὐτοῖς κόρος ἰσοτέλεστος τοῦ "Αἰδου" τότε γὰρ οὗ τοιοῦτος κόρος λαμβάνει τέλος ὅτε ἂν ὁ "Αἰδης ἐπέλθῃ. We join the adjective with μοῖρα; but the moving power is not the μοῖρα—nor the θάνατος itself—but the god or divinity who works through this μοῖρα. Ai. 253 λιθόλευστον Ἄρη. Phil. 607 λωβήτ' ἔπη. "Id quod λωβᾶται," Mehlhorn, Anac., p. 240; rather id per quod is λωβᾶται, qui eo utitur. Phil. 690 πανδάκρυτον . . . βιοτῶν. Trach. 50 πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύματα. O. R. 192 παλίσσυτον δράμημα. With Brunck, we join the verbal with δράμημα, not with the subject of the infinitive; cf. Wunder: "Ex vulgari tragicorum consuetudine παλ. δράμ. νωτίσαι dictum est pro παλίσσυτον δράμημα ποιῆσαι, ita

ut sensus sit *παλινδρομησαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπελθεῖν*." The verbal is proleptic and neuter. Ai. 712 *πάνθυστα θέσμι*. El. 851 *πανσύρτω . . . αἰῶνι*. Schol. *πανσύρτω δὲ πάντα σύροντι τὰ κακὰ ἢ πανσύρτω τῷ μετὰ πάσης ὁρμῆς τῶν κακῶν ὠρμημένῳ*. Certainly it means a life *in* which (*by* which) all evils are swept together. Trach. 756 *πολυθύτους . . . σφαγὰς*. Ai. 1185 *πολυπλάγκτων ἐτέων*. We derive the verbal from *πλάζομαι*; the expression means 'years *in* which we wander,' from which the translation 'years causing much wandering' easily arose. Schol. *τῶν ἐτῶν ἐμοὶ πόρους παρασκευάζων. καθ' ὃ πολλὰ πλανώμεθα ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ*. The verbal is *neuter*, and with Schmidt (Synonymik d. g. S. I, p. 557) we protest against those who would explain the adjective here *actively*. Ant. 615 *πολυπλαγκτος ἐλπὶς*. Trach. 357 *ρίπτός . . . μόρος*. Ai. 631 *χερόπλακτοι . . . δοῦποι*.

II. With Concrete Things.

a) Representing the *acc. of the inner object* of the resolved construction.—O. R. 719 *ἄβατον εἰς ὄρος*. O. C. 167 *ἀβάτων ἀποβάς*. O. C. 675 *ἄβατον . . . φυλλάδα*. Trach. 505 *πάμπληκτα παγκόνιτα . . . ἄεθλ'*. Commentators are gladly following Kvičala and explaining the verbal as a passive. In his Beiträge, I, p. 33, Kvičala explains the expression *πλήττειν ἄεθλα* after the analogy of *πλήττειν πληγὰς*: similarly he would have us explain *πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα*. Only he thus compares two very different accusatives, *πληγὰς* and *ὀδύρματα*, the former being the accusative of the object *effected*, the latter not being such. We do not accept his explanation of the passage, although his circumlocution, *ἄεθλα, ἐν οἷς πᾶσαι πληγαὶ πλήττονται*, is correct. The logical subjects of the two expressions have also suffered, the subject of *πλήττειν* being *πληγαί*, while that of *-πληκτα* and *-κόνιτα* is not *ἄεθλα* at all, but those who contend. We therefore explain the term as meaning the contests in which the contestants are much struck and much covered with dust. Fg. 15 *φορμικτά*. If *μέλη* is to be supplied as the subject of the verbal, it may be thus instrumentally interpreted.

β) Remaining examples.—Trach. 106 *ἀδακρύτων βλεφάρων*. The conflicting notes of the Scholiast explain the α both as a privativum and as an intensivum! into which latter error Blomfield has also fallen (Gloss. in Aischyl. Prom. 905); cf. Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 72, 12). The verbal is proleptic. O. C. 1200 *ἀδέρκτων ὀμμάτων*. Fg. 418 *ἀθηρόβρωτον ὄργανον*. It seems that a winnowing-fan is here referred to. Ai. 176 *ἀκάρπωτον*

χάριν. ἀκάρπωτον, L.; ἀκάρπωτος, Nauck, whom many follow. The adjective has been variously joined with χάριν, νίκας, Artemis herself. It should have been joined with νίκας, but was construed with χάριν. Trach. 527 ἀμφινείκητον ὄμμα. But we know of no verb ἀμφινείκω. Or is the word, then, a compositum possessivum? Bergk rejects the lines as spurious, Wecklein defends them, and Schütz, by conjecturing, retains them. Ai. 1272 κἀνόννητ' ἔπη. O. C. 156 ἀφθέγκτω . . . νάπει. O. C. 1495 βούθυτον ἐστίαν. O. R. 1315 δυσούριστον (νέφος). The Scholiast thus defends the adjective—a ἄπ. λογ.—: ὄρον μὴ ἔχον ἀλλ' αἰὲ παραμένον. We derive the adjective neither from ὄρος nor from οὔρος (with Ellendt). After a long discussion of the passage Schindler (pp. 19–20) concludes that the adjective must be corrupt, and of course Blaydes is more than ready to furnish conjectures. We think the tradition can be defended. οὐρίζω means, according to Papez, “unter günstigen Wind bringen, gew. übertr., zu Glück verhelfen, in eine günstige Lage bringen, beglücken.” Now, if we interpret the adjective instrumentally, its logical subject being the speaker, not νέφος, the expression means ‘a cloud of blindness, *by means of which* I am brought into misfortune.’ O. R. 1266 κρεμαστήν ἀράνην. Trach. 538 λωβητὸν ἐμπόλημα. Ant. 832 παγκλαύτοις (δφρύσι).

ON THE TRANSITIVE FORCE OF THE VERBALS.

We saw in the dissertation on the verbals in Aischylos (pp. 71–72) that the verbals are in that author never *transitive*, in the sense of governing a case, all passages thus formerly explained either being corrupt or exhibiting the neuter force of the verbal. This can hardly be said to be true of Sophocles. There is a very small number of verbals in our author which seem plainly to govern a case—either the genitive or the dative: of these cases a few are certain, the rest doubtful. Certain of these are compounds of a priv.: in these cases some would explain the dependent genitive as depending on the notion of *separation* implied in the *negative adjective*; but the temptation to let the genitive in e. g. ἄγευστος κακῶν depend on the verb in the verbal is very strong; cf. Madvig, Syntax der griechischen Sprache, §63 c. Apart from this, however, there are compounds *without this negative prefix* which ‘govern’ a genitive, e. g. εὐμαστον: here the ‘separation-explanation’ evidently does not apply. Moreover, there seem to be cases in which—contrary to Mehlhorn’s law (pp. 242–43,

"deinde vero quaecunque verbalia a meris activis deriventur, nonnisi composita active usurpari")—simplicia are found governing cases: such instances are, however, all more or less suspicious. The situation is a very tantalizing one. Sophocles seems to have hesitatingly introduced this new construction, whose beginnings are as yet so gradual and cautious that it is extremely difficult to determine at all certainly the nature of the dependent case in question.

Ant. 582 ἄγευστος αἰὼν (κακῶν). The verbal is here used instrumentally; the sense is 'an age in which those living in it taste of no ills.' Ant. 500 ἀρεστών οὐδέν (ἐμοί). Bekker, Anecd. Graec., p. 80, 20: ἀρεστός: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρέσκων. Πλάτων Φαίδρφ. Undoubtedly the adjective means 'agreeable,' whether this meaning of the verbal arose from the simpler neuter sense of the verb or through the passive from the rarer *active* sense ('gefällig machen'). But the dative, ἐμοί, may depend on the complex, or be a dative of interest. Similarly in the following passage: O. R. 1097 ἀρεστ' (σοι . . . ταῦτ'). O. R. 969 ἄψανστος ἔγχους (ἐγῶ). It is generally conceded that the verbal is here active; cf. Schol. ἐγὼ ὁ ἐνταῦθα ὦν οὐκ ἔλαβον δόρυ ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνω εἰ μή τις εἴποι ὅτι τάχα διὰ τὸν ἐμὸν πόθον ἀπέθανεν. Bekker, Anecd. Graec., p. 18, 4: ἄψανστος: ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ θιγόντος μηδὲ ἀψαμένον. Σοφοκλῆς. Wex, Antig. 392: "ἄψανστος O. R. 969, ubi glossator apud Fähsse, p. 224 ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἄψανστος καὶ ὁ ψανόμενος καὶ ὁ ψαύων." Cf. Passow, Stephanus, Pape, Ellendt, Hermann, Nauck, Brunck, Schambach (II, p. 3) (I, p. 25), Campbell, Wolff-Bellermann, Wecklein, Schmit, Synonymik d. g. S. I, p. 230 f.; Mehlhorn, p. 242; Holtze, p. 6. Trach. 108 εὐμναστον ἀνδρὸς δεῖμα τρέφουσιν ὁδοῦ. The difficulty of the passage lies in the explanation of the genitives, ἀνδρὸς and ὁδοῦ, and in the question whether the verbal is to be joined with δεῖμα or with (αὐτὴν) the subject of τρέφουσιν and the following infinitive. In either case it is plainly active, meaning either 'she, being ever mindful' or 'she, nourishing a fear through which she is ever mindful.' Schol. ἀλλὰ τὸ δεῖμα τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἰεὶ μνημονεύουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀνάνδροις κοίταις τρύχεσθαι κατὰ ψυχὴν. Nauck, however (and similarly Wunder), joins thus: δεῖμα ὁδοῦ ἀνδρὸς τρέφουσιν εὐμναστον. Evidently the genitives are so placed as to allow of either construction of them. Campbell joins ἀνδρὸς with εὐμναστον. We think the verbal belongs to the subject of the sentence, and that ἀνδρὸς—or ὁδοῦ—depends directly on the verbal. Trach. 446 μεμπτός εἰμι (τῶμῳ τ' ἀνδρὶ τῇδε τῇ νόσφι ληφθέντι). Schol. μεμπτή εἰμι τουτέστιν αἰε

μέμφομαι· ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπίμεμπτος, ἐπιπληκτική. Evidently the verbal is active; cf. Kvičala, I, p. 61; Hermann, Wex, Antig. 392; Schambach, I, p. 24; Wunder; Curtius, Das Verbum, II, p. 388; Porson, Eur. Hec. 117; Campbell, Essay on the Language of Sophocles, p. 98, §53 a. O. C. 1031 πιστὸς (ἔτφ) ἔδρας τάδε. Schol. ἀντὶ πιστεύων, καταστρέφει δὲ εἰς τὸ πεποιθός. Many commentators construe the verbal actively. But the dative may depend on ἔδρας τάδε.

Intermediate between those verbals which are used in a neuter sense and those which show the active force stand the following adjectives, which are derived from *active transitive* verbs, but are used almost as neuters, the object which they govern—or *would* govern—being easily inferred from the context, or else contained in the *a* priv. of the adjective itself, as e. g. ἀνόητος = οὐδὲν γινώσκων.

Phil. 689 ἀμφιπλάκτων ῥοθίων. Schol. ἐκατέρωθεν πληττόντων· τὰ γὰρ κύματα κλύζονται κατ' ἀμφοτέραν ὄχθην τῆς θαλάσσης. Surely the verbal is not (with M., I, p. 48) passive if we read ῥοθίων. It is interpreted as an active verbal by Porson (Hec. 1117), Hermann (O. R. 962), Jebb (O. C. 1031; O. R. 969), Passow and others. "Undarum (insulam) undique pulsantium, circumsonantium" is Schindler's not unhappy translation (p. 25). Ai. 162 ἀνοήτους τούτων γνώμας. Ant. 645 ἀνωφέλητα . . . τέκνα. El. 1144 ἀνωφελήτου (τροφῆς). O. R. 884 ἀφόβητος (δίκας). The verbal is active; cf. Tessing, p. 47; Hermann, O. R. 962; Porson, Eur. Phön. 216; Wex, Antig. 392; Jebb, O. C. 1283; M., I, p. 72; Stephanus, Passow. Schol. τὴν δίκην μὴ δεδοικώς. Δίκας is a "genetivus relationis, qui significat, quatenus et cuius rei ratione habita, qualitas, quae adiectivo expressa est, locum habeat"; cf. Caesar, Bell. Civ. I 69 *fugiens laboris*. O. R. 882 ὑπέροπτα χερσὶν ἢ λόγῳ πορεύεται. The verbal seems to be an instrumentally construed active, with indefinite (unexpressed) object.

FRAGMENTS WHICH CANNOT BE CLASSIFIED.

879 ἄβρωτος: Pollux (6, 39) defines it δ νῆστις.

881 ἀγάμητος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγαμος, Anecd. Bekk., p. 336, 7. Ἀγάμητος, Brunck; ἀγάμετος, Anec. Bekk.

205 ἀδόξαστον, ἀνελπιστον, Hesych. I, p. 97, and Anecd. Bekk., p. 344, 28.

43 αἰχμόδετος, αἰχμάλωτος, Hesych. I, p. 178. V. L. αἰχμόλετος.

241 ἀκήρυκτον, ἄγνωστον, Hesych. I, p. 191.

623 ἀκλεπτοι, οὐ παραλογιζόμενοι, ἀληθεῖς, Hesych. I, p. 194.

674 ἀκόλαστον σῶμα.

- 298 ἄλυτον, ἀκατάλυτον, ἀκατάπανστον, Hesych. I, p. 252.
 228 ἀμόρφωτον, ἀδιατύπωτον, Hesych. I, p. 282.
 27 ἄναρκτον, ἀνυπότακτον, [οὐ] οὐδείς ἤρξε (ἤρξει, codex): Hesych. I, p. 339.
 911 ἀνόσητον: τὸν δὲ ἄνοσον καὶ ἀνόσητον Σοφοκλῆς, Pollux 3, 107.
 299 ἀξέστους, τραχείας, Hesych. I, p. 412.
 283 ἀπαρθένευτος (ἀπαρθίνευτος, cod.), ἀκέραιος, καθαρά, Hesych. I, p. 426.
 564 ἄπιστος, ἀπαράπιστος, ἀπειθής, Hesych. I, p. 453. Nauck conjectures ἀπειστος, ἀπαράπειστος.
 229 ἀποπλήκτω ποδί, μανιώδει, Hesych. I, p. 477.
 48 ἄσεπτον, ἀσεβές, Hesych. I, p. 568.
 121 ἄτμητον, ἀμέριστον, ἀτραυμάτιστον, Hesych. I, p. 603, adopting Salmasius' suggestion: ἀτραυμάτιστον. Σοφοκλῆς Ἀμφιτρύωνι. ἄτμητον, ἀμέριστον, codex.
 498 ἄρρητον, ἄφραστον, ἀνιστόρητον, ἀπόρρητον, ἄφωνον, αἰσχρὸν, Hesych. I, p. 551.
 231 αὐτόφορτοι, αὐτοδιάκονοι, κυρίως δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πλοίοις, Hesych. I, p. 630.
 512 αὐτόσσυτον, αὐτοκέλευστον, Hesych. I, p. 629.
 354 ἀπέλαστον ἀξύμβλητον ἐξεθρεψάμην. Ἀξύμβλητον ὥστε μηδενὶ ἀπαντῆσαι, Anecd. Bekk., p. 413, 14, and Etym. M., p. 327 C. Ἀξύμβλητον (ἀξύβλητον, cod.), ὁ μηδενὶ ἀπαντᾶν (ἀπαντᾶ ἦ, cod.) δυνατόν, ἢ ἀσυνάντητον, Hesych. I, p. 414. Ἀπέλαστον is Meineke's, ἄπλαστον Bergk's conjecture for the MS reading ἄπλαστον.
 505 οὐκ ἀψάλακτος, ἀκίνητος, ἀψηλάφητος, ἀκράτητος, Hesych. I, p. 665.
 202 γνωστός, ἀντὶ τοῦ γνώριμος, Antiatt., p. 87, 25.
 934 διωκτός, ὁ ἀνὴρ φυγὰς, ἐξόριστος: Pollux 9, 158.
 392 ἐπίκοτα, ἐπίμορφα (ἐπίμορφα, cod.), ἀ πᾶς ἄν τις (ἀπασαν τίς, cod.) μέμψαιτο, Hesych. I, p. 1360.
 499 ἐνθρίακτος, ἐνθουσιῶν καὶ ἐνθάεκτος, Hesych. I, p. 1240.
 424 θρεκτοῖσι νόμοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ τροχαίοις (τροχαῖος, cod.), Hesych. I, p. 1730. Nauck prefers the V. L. κρεκτοῖσι.
 132 σαλητόν, ἀντὶ πατρός (σαράπιδος, Valesius et al.). ἡ βαρβαρικὸν χιτῶνα, Hesych. II, p. 1143; σάρητον ὁ σάραπις, καὶ εἶδος χιτῶνος, Hesych. II, p. 1154.

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